

1868
HORATIO SEYMOUR.

The War Record of a Peace Democrat.

A PEACE MAN IN WAR, A WAR MAN IN PEACE!

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Horatio Seymour, of Utica, New York, a local politician of some note, is the Democratic candidate for President.

Mr. Seymour was nominated for that office *by a convention of rebel Democrats*, which assembled in New York on the 4th day of July, 1868, after he had repeatedly declared *that he would not accept the position, BECAUSE IT WOULD BE DISHONORABLE for him to do so, and would BRING PERIL UPON HIMSELF AND HIS PARTY.*

The Convention which nominated Mr. Seymour *had one hundred and eighty-six Southern delegates, ONE HUNDRED AND TEN OF WHOM WERE IN THE REBEL SERVICE*, and all of whom, both North and South, *either gave active aid to the rebellion, or warmly sympathized with its authors.* Its policy was shaped, its platform dictated, and its candidates designated *by rebels, whose hands were still red with the blood of murdered Union soldiers.*

C. L. VALLANDIGHAM, *a man banished the country for treason*, and who acted as the spy of the "Confederate Government" after he run the blockade and reached Canada, *was the man they selected to nominate him to the Convention.* The presentation of Mr. Seymour's name by such a man to a Convention composed of such materials was received with the wildest applause, as it was fit it should be; and he was accepted as their candidate by acclamation. Wade Hampton, and N. B. Forrest, and "Admiral" Semmes, and every rebel in the Convention, claimed his nomination as a concession to their demands, and boasted *that by his election THEY WOULD GAIN ALL THEY HAD LOST by the failure of the rebellion.* His record during the war, and his resistance since to a restoration of the Southern States to the Union, except upon such conditions as the rebels might approve, justified this confidence in his *adaptation to their purposes.*

His effort to *defeat a draft* to fill our depleted ranks after the terrible slaughter which had resulted from McClellan's imbecility, or disloyalty, and his approval of the doctrine that *all the reconstructed State governments MUST BE OVERTHROWN*, is the only guaranty the Southern leaders required of his fidelity to their interests.

The following record of this "peace man in war and war man in peace" will show how well they have judged his character, and how safely they may rely on his efforts to restore to them *the Constitution as it was and the Union as they would have it.* As the Democratic press, becoming alarmed at the array of

evidence against him, are quoting Mr. Lincoln's and Mr. Stanton's certificate of good character to prove his loyalty, we present the other side of the picture:

Why They Complimented Seymour.

Gov. Tod, of Ohio, in a recent speech at Orwell, in that State, thus satisfactorily explains the matter:

"Seymour is an intelligent man. I know him well. He was Governor at the same time I was Governor. Mr. Lincoln called for volunteers. I sent him only thirty thousand, while Seymour sent fifteen thousand. The President went round complimenting Seymour, and saying nothing about what I had done. I took Mr. Lincoln to task for this. I said, '*How is it you are complimenting Seymour for his fifteen thousand men, and neglecting to compliment Morton and me?*' 'WHY, 'TOD, I NEVER THANKED MRS. LINCOLN FOR A CUP OF TEA IN MY LIFE.' The truth was, Morton and I had done nothing more than what was expected of us, *while Seymour had. He had never done the like before and never did afterward.*"

Seymour Forced to Sustain the War.

Captain Edward Marshal, a brother of Thomas F., made a speech at a recent Democratic ratification meeting, which is thus sketched in a Kentucky paper:

"He was enthusiastic in support of Seymour, and gave his reasons therefor. He said Seymour was nominated as a war Democrat for the reason that no other could win, BUT HE HAD NEVER GIVEN ANY AID OR SUPPORT TO THE GOVERNMENT IN THE PROSECUTION OF THE WAR WHEN IT COULD BE AVOIDED. In 1863, when the rebel troops were in Pennsylvania, and the Government called on Seymour, who was then Governor of New York, to furnish troops to expel them, he answered, in the same manner, if not in the same language, as the Governor of Kentucky in 1861, viz: THAT HE WOULD NOT SEND THEM. He did send them, however, FOR THE REASON THAT HE WAS UNABLE TO DO OTHERWISE."

An Original Secessionist.

Mr. W. H. Russell, the well-known correspondent of the London *Times*, throws some additional and still stronger light upon the question of Mr. Seymour's secession views in the following passage from his published "Diary North and South." Mr. Russell is describing a dinner party in New York in 1861:

"The occasion offered itself to Mr. Horatio Seymour to give me his views of the Constitution of the United States, and by degrees the theme spread over the table. * * * * There was not a man who maintained that the Government had any power to coerce the people of a State or to force a State to remain in the Union or under the action of the Federal Government. * * * * Mr. Seymour is a man of compromise, but his views go farther than those which were entertained by his party two years ago. *Although secession would produce revolution, it was, nevertheless, in his opinion, a right founded on abstract principles, which could scarcely be abrogated with due regard to the original compact.*"

Preferred the Rebel Constitution.

In 1861, Mr. Seymour, meeting Judge Charles H. Ruggles, asked him:

"Judge, have you read the Confederate [Montgomery] Constitution? I have; and IT IS BETTER THAN OURS [the Federal.] Then, why not," he continued, "OBVIATE ALL DIFFICULTY BY SIMPLY ADOPTING THAT [Confederate] CONSTITUTION?"

He proposed to settle the war by having the whole North join the Confederacy, and adopting the rebel constitution.

"An Inglorious Warfare."

Following up this right which "could scarcely be abrogated," he again said at the Tweddle Hall Convention in Albany, New York, January 31, 1861,

before Sumter was fired on, and before any measure of an arbitrary nature was instituted:

"We are advised by the conservative States of Virginia and Kentucky, that if force is to be used, it must be exerted against the united South. It would be an act of folly and madness, in entering upon this contest, to underrate our opponents, *and thus subject ourselves TO THE DISGRACE OF DEFEAT IN AN INGLORIOUS WARFARE.* LET US ALSO SEE IF SUCCESSFUL COERCION BY THE NORTH IS LESS REVOLUTIONARY THAN SUCCESSFUL SECESSION BY THE SOUTH. Shall we prevent revolution by being foremost in overthrowing the principles of our Government, and all that makes it valuable to our people and distinguishes it among the nations of the earth?"

His "Friends" Threaten Bloodshed North.

At the same Convention, James P. Thayer, a delegate and friend of Seymour, followed this speech in the following words:

"The public mind will bear the avowal, and let us make it—that if a revolution of force is to begin, *IT SHALL BE INAUGURATED AT HOME.* And if the incoming Administration shall attempt to carry out the line of policy that has been foreshadowed, we announce that, when the hand of Black Republicanism turns to blood-red, and seeks from the fragment of the Constitution to *construct a scaffold for coercion*—another name for execution—*WE WILL REVERSE THE ORDER OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, AND SAVE THE BLOOD OF THE PEOPLE BY MAKING THOSE WHO WOULD INAUGURATE A REIGN OF TERROR THE FIRST VICTIMS OF A NATIONAL GUILLOTINE.*" [Enthusiastic applause.]

Shall we Compromise Before or After War?

"This question is simply this: *SHALL WE HAVE COMPROMISE AFTER WAR, OR COMPROMISE WITHOUT WAR?* Shall we be aided in this settlement by the loss of national honor, the destruction of individual interests, and the shedding of blood?"—*Speech at Albany, Jan., 1861.*

"How Shall the War be Conducted?"

"We have been *MAD ENOUGH* to *muster armies to occupy their territory.* * * * But some have suggested with complacent air, that the South might be easily subjugated by blockading their ports with a few ships-of-war."—*Seymour's Speech.*

Assailing his Government.

"What a spectacle do we present, to-day! Already six States have withdrawn from this Confederacy. Revolution has actually begun. The term 'secession' divests it of none of its terrors, nor do arguments to prove secession inconsistent with our Constitution stay its progress or mitigate its evil. *ALL VIRTUE, PATRIOTISM, AND INTELLIGENCE SEEM TO HAVE FLED FROM OUR NATIONAL CAPITAL; it has been well likened to a conflagration of an asylum for madmen—some look on with idiotic imbecility; some in sullen silence; and some scatter the firebrands which consume the fabric above them, and bring upon all a common destruction.* IS THERE ONE REVOLTING ASPECT IN THIS SCENE WHICH HAS NOT ITS PARALLEL AT THE CAPITAL OF YOUR COUNTRY? DO YOU NOT SEE THERE THE SENSELESS IMBECILITY, THE GARRULOUS IDIOCY, THE MADDENED RAGE, DISPLAYED WITH REGARD TO PETTY PERSONAL PASSIONS AND PARTY PURPOSES, WHILE THE GLORY, THE HONOR, AND THE SAFETY OF THE COUNTRY, ARE ALL FORGOTTEN? The same pervading fanaticism has brought evil upon all the institutions of our land. Our churches are torn asunder and desecrated to partisan purposes.

The wrongs of our local legislation, the growing burdens of debt and taxation, the gradual destruction of the African in the Free States, which is marked by each recurring census, are all due to the neglect of our own duties, caused by a complete absorption of the public mind by a senseless, unreasoning fanaticism."

Opposed to Coercion.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1864, Horatio Seymour, the Democratic candidate for President, made a speech at Milwaukee, Wisconsin. In that speech he declared that he "would not denounce this [Abraham Lincoln's] Administration for casual acts of wrong—I would not denounce it because its members have erred in judgment—**BUT I DENOUNCE IT BECAUSE I BELIEVE IT HAS ENTERED UPON A SETTLED COURSE OF POLICY DANGEROUS TO THE WELFARE OF THE COUNTRY.** *It proposes to put down the rebellion by two powers—the power of policy and the power of the army.*"

The Rebel Spirit in 1864.

Seymour was a delegate to the Democratic Rebel Chicago Convention of 1864, and was chosen President; upon taking the chair, he said:

"The bigotry of fanatics and the intrigues of placemen have made the bloody pages of the history of the past three years. **THEY WILL NOT STOP THE SHEDDING OF BLOOD EVEN FOR A LITTLE TIME TO SEE IF CHRISTIAN CHARITY OR THE WISDOM OF STATESMANSHIP MAY NOT WORK OUT A METHOD TO SAVE OUR COUNTRY.** Nay, more than this, they will not listen to a proposal for peace which does not offer that which this Government has no right to ask."

No Condition but Unconditional Surrender.

"**WE DEMAND NO CONDITIONS FOR THE RESTORATION OF OUR UNION;** we are shackled with no hates, *no prejudices*, no passions. We wish for fraternal relationship with the people of the South. We demand for them what we demand for ourselves—**THE FULL RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHTS OF STATES.**

"But if the Administration cannot save the Union, *we can.* Mr. LINCOLN VALUES MANY THINGS ABOVE THE UNION; we put it first of all. HE THINKS A PROCLAMATION WORTH MORE THAN PEACE; we think the blood of our people more precious than the edicts of the President. **THERE ARE NO HINDRANCES IN OUR PATHWAY TO UNION AND PEACE.**"

The Union Cannot be Saved.

"**THIS ADMINISTRATION CANNOT NOW SAVE THE UNION IF IT WOULD.** It has by its proclamation, *by vindictive legislation, by displays of hate and passion,* placed obstacles in its own pathway which it cannot overcome, and has hampered its own freedom of action by unconstitutional acts."

He Votes the War a Failure.

Second Plank of the National Democratic Platform of 1864:

Resolved, That this Convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American People, *that* **AFTER FOUR YEARS OF FAILURE TO RESTORE THE UNION BY THE EXPERIMENT OF WAR, DURING WHICH, UNDER THE PRETENSE OF A MILITARY NECESSITY OF A WAR POWER HIGHER THAN THE CONSTITUTION, THE CONSTITUTION ITSELF HAS BEEN DISREGARDED IN EVERY PART** and public liberty and private right alike trodden down and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired; justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare **DEMAND THAT IMMEDIATE EFFORTS BE MADE FOR A CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES WITH A VIEW TO AN ULTIMATE CONVENTION OF ALL THE STATES,** or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States.

Seymour and the New York Convention Endorse Blair.

The New York Copperhead Convention, which did not contain a loyal delegate from the South, nor one who had not taken an active part against the Gov-

ernment, gave General Hampton, the bitterest rebel of them all, unconditional authority to place any plank in the platform the South might demand; and he placed there this endorsement of Blair's THREAT OF CIVIL WAR, which the Convention approved by acclamation:

"Resolved, THAT WE REGARD THE RECONSTRUCTION ACTS (SO CALLED) OF CONGRESS AS USURPATIONS, AND UNCONSTITUTIONAL, REVOLUTIONARY, AND VOID."

Seymour's letter of acceptance says:

"I HAVE CAREFULLY READ THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CONVENTION, AND MOST CORDIALLY CONCUR IN EVERY PRINCIPLE AND SENTIMENT THEY ADVANCE."

Seymour Pledged to Revolution.

Mr. Seymour cordially endorses the New York Platform which endorses Blair's treason and promises the overthrow of the reconstructed State governments and all the reconstruction laws of Congress, and repudiates our bonds. The Montgomery (Ala.) *News* thus defines Mr. Seymour's position:

"The Democratic party put Mr. Seymour on the same ticket with General Blair after the latter wrote his celebrated letter, and we have never heard that any of the parties to the copartnership have ever fallen out about it. On the contrary, they have not only not fallen out about it, but they have all fallen in about it, and the country is imitating their example. Our correspondent MAY REST ASSURED THAT UNDER SEYMOUR AND BLAIR, WITH OR WITHOUT PLATFORM OR LETTER, 'THE COB-HOUSES OF RECONSTRUCTION,' TO USE THE LANGUAGE OF MILLARD FILLMORE, 'MUST GIVE WAY TO DEMOCRATIC STRUCTURES.' THAT'S ALL ABOUT IT."

On the Greenbacks Before the Convention.

On the 26th of June, only ten days before the Copperhead and rebel Convention in New York, Mr. Seymour made a speech in the Cooper Institute upon the wickedness and folly of the greenback-Pendleton system, in which he said:

"The amount in savings banks, in this State alone, is \$140,000,000. This shows that there must be at least \$500,000,000 of money thus deposited in all the States. The average of the deposits in 1867, in the State of New York, was \$270. THE NUMBER OF DEPOSITORS IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK IS ABOUT FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND, (487,479,) and in the city they number more than one-third of the population. This will make the number of depositors in the Union more than ONE MILLION EIGHT HUNDRED THOUSAND. In the State of Connecticut, in 1865, one-quarter of its population had deposits in savings banks. It is not usual for men of small property to insure their lives. The number of policies given out by all the life insurance companies are about four hundred and fifty thousand, and the amount of insurance about one thousand two hundred and fifty millions. The money invested is held as a sacred trust, as it is a fund laid aside for their families when the insured die. All of the funds of savings bank and life insurance companies are not put in Government bonds, BUT THEY HOLD AN AMOUNT WHICH WOULD CRIPPLE OR RUIN THEM IF THE BONDS ARE NOT PAID, OR IF THEY ARE PAID IN DEBASED PAPER. IF WE ADD THE TRUSTS FOR WIDOWS AND ORPHANS WE FIND THAT TWO MILLION FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND PERSONS ARE INTERESTED IN GOVERNMENT BONDS WHO ARE NOT CAPITALISTS, and who are compulsory owners at present prices under the operations of our laws. There is a fear that this state of things will make a clashing of interest between the labor of the East and the labor of the West."

* * * * *

"If we make our paper money good by a harsh system of contraction, we shall cripple the energies of the country and make bankruptcy and ruin. IF, ON THE OTHER HAND WE DEBASE THE CURRENCY BY UNWISE ISSUES, WE SHALL EQUALLY PERPLEX BUSINESS AND DESTROY SOBER INDUSTRY, AND MAKE ALL PRICES MERE MATTERS OF GAMBLING, TRICKS, AND CHANCES. This will end as it did in the Southern Confederacy. At the outset the citizens of Richmond went to market with their money in their vest pockets and brought back their dinners in their baskets; in the end they took their money in their baskets and took home

their dinners in their vest pockets. *Make our money good by an honest and wise course, and when this is done it will be worth twenty-five per cent. more than it is now, which will be equal to an increase of one-quarter in the amount of currency.*"

After the Convention.

The Convention having practically decided to repudiate our debt, or in Mr. Seymour's language, to debase our currency and render it worthless by paying our bonds in greenbacks, he turned a short corner and declares his cordial approval of the platform.

The Union as it Was.

"Mr. Seymour is for the restoration of the States pure and simple under the Constitution, and, of course, for the discontinuance of the Freedman's Bureau, the withdrawal of troops, the self-government of each State by its own citizens, and under such a rule of suffrage as its own separate sovereignty shall prescribe. He styles the uprising of the South a rebellion, but he is in favor of restoring the *status quo ante bellum*. In the same connection appears the most useful sentence of the letter. HE CONSIDERS HIMSELF A PARTY TO THE PLATFORM, WHICH IS, IN HIS OPINION, IN THE NATURE OF A CONTRACT WITH THE PEOPLE. That platform, as our readers understand, TREATS ALL THE STEPS OF THE SO-CALLED RECONSTRUCTION, BY THE MULTITUDINOUS ACTS OF CONGRESS, AS REVOLUTIONARY, AND NOT SIMPLY UNCONSTITUTIONAL."—*Cincinnati West and South*.

Letter to the Military Authorities Justifying Mobs.

The day Meade whipped the rebels at Gettysburg, Seymour was thus talking treason in New York. Our armies were in sore need of reinforcements, and a draft had been ordered. Volunteering failed to fill the requirements of the service. The draft was a matter of necessity. Horatio Seymour said:

"We only ask that you shall give to us that which you claim for yourselves, and that which every freeman and every man who respects himself will have, freedom of speech, the right to exercise all the rights conferred by the Constitution upon American citizens. [Great applause.] CAN YOU SAFELY DENY US THESE? Will you not trample upon your own rights if you refuse to listen? DO YOU NOT CREATE REVOLUTION WHEN YOU SAY THAT YOUR PERSONS MAY BE RIGHTFULLY SEIZED, YOUR PROPERTY CONFISCATED, YOUR HOMES ENTERED? ARE YOU NOT EXPOSING YOURSELVES, YOUR OWN INTERESTS, TO AS GREAT A PERIL AS THAT WITH WHICH YOU THREATEN US? REMEMBER THIS, THAT THE BLOODY, AND TREASONABLE, AND REVOLUTIONARY DOCTRINE OF PUBLIC NECESSITY CAN BE PROCLAIMED BY A MOB AS WELL AS BY A GOVERNMENT. [Applause.]

"When men accept despotism, *they may have a choice as to who that despot shall be*. The struggle then will not be, shall we have Constitutional liberty? But, having accepted the doctrine that the Constitution has lost its force, EVERY INSTINCT OF PERSONAL AMBITION, EVERY INSTINCT OF PERSONAL SECURITY, WILL LEAD MEN TO PUT THEMSELVES UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THAT POWER WHICH THEY SUPPOSE MOST COMPETENT TO GUARD THEIR PERSONS.

More Rebel Sympathy.

In the fall of 1862, a Triennial Episcopal Convention was held in Trinity Church, New York. Murray Hoffman, Dr. Vinton and others moved and advocated patriotic resolutions; and the eloquent Dr. Goodwin delivered an exhaustive speech on the subject, in which he earnestly pressed their adoption. The next day the subject came up again, the question being on Judge Carpenter's (of New Jersey) resolution, calling on the Bishop for a form of prayer in relation to the *wicked rebellion now prevailing in the land, for the safety of our country and the success of our armies*. Horatio Seymour took the floor and made a long speech in opposition. "HE WAS OPPOSED TO PRONOUNCING AN OPINION AGAINST OUR SOUTHERN BRETHREN. The measure seemed to him *like the Pope's bull against the comet*. He begged them to pause *before condemning the absent, condemning thousands and hundreds of thousands of brethren, not a man of whom was there to speak for himself.*"

Mr. Seymour by an Impartial Foreigner.

Gen. De Trobriand is the highest French authority on military matters. In his history of over five years' operations on the Potomac he has a word to say on the attitude of the Governor of New York in the dark days of the Union, the summer of 1863:

"The Governor, Horatio Seymour, whose attitude and conduct toward the National Government *had been of a character to encourage rather than to prevent the riots*, HAD NO THOUGHT EXCEPT IN CONCERT WITH HIS PARTY, TO MAKE CAPITAL OF THEM IN ORDER TO HINDER THE ENROLLMENT. *Under the pretense of ascertaining whether some error had not stolen into the reckoning of the State's contingent, and of waiting until the question of the constitutionality of the law could be submitted to judicial tribunals, he demanded of the President the indefinite postponement of the draft.* The object of this attempt was plain. IT WAS TO DRY UP THE SOURCE OF THE REINFORCEMENTS NECESSARY TO THE ARMY, IN ORDER TO LESSEN, IF NOT DESTROY, THE RESULT OF THE VICTORIES OF GETTYSBURG AND VICKSBURG, and, while the Confederate government should renew its forces by universal conscription, *to reduce our forces by stopping the draft and discouraging volunteering.* These were the means by which the peace Democrats of the North attempted to obtain either the final recognition of the Southern Confederacy, or the establishment of a new Union, founded on the subjection of the free States to the supremacy of the slave States."

Proof of the Above.

Governor Seymour appealed to President Lincoln to stop the draft, as though it were an act of wanton, needless, tyrannical exaction, and not a stern necessity required for the national safety—saying:

"It is believed by AT LEAST ONE-HALF THE PEOPLE OF THE LOYAL STATES that the conscription act, which they are called upon to obey, because it is on the statute-book, IS IN ITSELF A VIOLATION OF THE SUPREME CONSTITUTIONAL LAWS. * * * I do not dwell upon what I believe would be the consequence of a violent, harsh policy, before the constitutionality of the act is tested. THE TEMPER OF THE PEOPLE TO-DAY YOU MAY EASILY LEARN."

Slavery First—the Union Afterwards.

The Democratic candidate for the Presidency said in Utica, in 1861:

"IF IT BE TRUE THAT SLAVERY MUST BE ABOLISHED TO SAVE THE UNION, THEN THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO WITHDRAW THEMSELVES FROM THE GOVERNMENT WHICH CANNOT GIVE THEM GUARANTEES IN ITS TERMS."

The War Worth what it Cost.

"THE WAR HAS HAD THIS COMPENSATION: IT ENDED SLAVERY. HISTORY WILL SAY ALL WAS WELL SPENT IN ERASING THIS BLOT, TRANSMITTED FROM A COMMON ANCESTRY, TARNISHING OUR FAME, AND BELYING OUR DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE."—Hon. Reverdy Johnson, at Sheffield, August, 1868.

Seeking English Intervention.

Not satisfied with his efforts to stop the draft and destroy the credit of the Government, Mr. Seymour attempted to procure the intervention of England. Lord Lyon, the English minister at that time, gives this account of the effort of himself and his friends to procure that result:

"Several of the leaders of the Democratic party sought interviews with me both before and after the arrival of the intelligence of General McClellan's dismissal. The subject uppermost in their minds, while they were speaking to me WAS NATURALLY THAT OF FOREIGN MEDIATION BETWEEN THE NORTH AND SOUTH. Many of them seem to think that this mediation must come at last; but they appeared to be very much afraid of its coming too soon. It was evident that they apprehended that a premature proposal of foreign intervention would afford the Radical party A MEANS OF REVIVING THE VIOLENT WAR SPIRIT, AND OF THUS DEFEATING THE PEACEFUL PLANS OF THE CONSERVATIVES. They appeared to regard the present moment as peculiarly unfavorable for such an offer, and indeed, to hold that it would be essential to the success of any proposal from abroad that it should be deferred

until the control of the Executive Government should be in the hands of the Conservative party.

"I gave no opinion on the subject. I did not say whether or no I myself thought foreign intervention probable or desirable; but I listened with attention to the accounts given me of the plans and hopes of the Conservative party. At the bottom *I thought I perceived a desire to put an end to the war, EVEN AT THE RISK OF LOSING THE SOUTHERN STATES ALTOGETHER; but it was plain it was not thought prudent to avow this desire.* INDEED, SOME HINTS OF IT, DROPPED BEFORE THE ELECTIONS, WERE SO ILL RECEIVED THAT A STRONG DECLARATION IN THE CONTRARY SENSE WAS DEEMED NECESSARY BY THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERS."

Clamoring for Victory.

On the 4th of July, 1863, Mr. Seymour made a speech in New York. A patriot would have taken the occasion as one to inspire hope in the people and faith in their cause, and not one to ridicule the efforts of our soldiers in the field. But Mr. Seymour says:

"When I accepted the invitation to speak, with others, at this meeting, *we were promised the downfall of Vicksburg, the opening of the Mississippi, the probable capture of the Confederate capital and the exhaustion of the rebellion.* By common consent, all parties had fixed upon the same day when the results of the campaign should be known, to mark out the line of policy which they felt that our country should pursue. BUT, IN THE MOMENT OF EXPECTED VICTORY, THERE CAME THE MIDNIGHT CRY FOR HELP FROM PENNSYLVANIA TO SAVE ITS DESPOILED FIELDS FROM THE INVADING FOE; and, almost within sight of this great commercial metropolis, the ships of your merchants were burned to the water's edge.

Talk to His Friends.

This was on the 4th of July. On the 13th of July the mob came. It swept New York as with the besom of destruction. It had Governor Seymour's threat to justify its action. Governor Seymour is sent for. He comes. He speaks to the rioters. He says:

"MY FRIENDS—I have come down from the quiet of the country to see what was the difficulty, to learn that all the trouble was concerning the draft. Let me assure you that I am *your* friend. [Uproarious cheering.] You have been *my friends*, [cries of 'yes,' 'that's so,' 'we are and will be again,'] and now, I assure you, my fellow-citizens, that I am here to show you a TEST OF MY FRIENDSHIP. [Cheers.] I WISH TO INFORM YOU THAT I HAVE SENT MY ADJUTANT GENERAL TO WASHINGTON TO CONFER WITH THE AUTHORITIES THERE, AND TO HAVE THIS DRAFT SUSPENDED OR STOPPED. [Vociferous cheering.] I ask you as *good citizens to wait for his return.* I wish you to take good care of all property as good citizens, and see that every person is safe. *The safe keeping of persons and property rests with you,* and I charge you to disturb neither. It is your duty to *maintain the good order of the city;* and I know you will do it. I wish you to separate as good citizens and YOU CAN ASSEMBLE AGAIN WHENEVER YOU WISH TO DO SO. I ask you to leave all to me now, and I will see to your rights. WAIT UNTIL MY ADJUTANT GENERAL RETURNS FROM WASHINGTON."

Seymour and Vallandigham—Interposing More Obstacles.

"If this proceeding is approved by the Government and sanctioned by the people, it is not merely a step toward revolution—IT IS REVOLUTION. It will not only lead to military despotism—it establishes military despotism. In this aspect it must be accepted. or in this aspect rejected. * * * * The people of this country now wait with the deepest anxiety the decision of the Administration upon these acts. Having given it a generous support in the conduct of the war, WE PAUSE TO SEE WHAT KIND OF A GOVERNMENT IT IS FOR WHICH WE ARE ASKED TO POUR OUT BLOOD AND TREASURE. THE ACTION OF THE ADMINISTRATION WILL DETERMINE IN THE MINDS OF MORE THAN ONE-HALF OF THE PEOPLE OF THE LOYAL STATES, WHETHER THIS WAR IS WAGED TO PUT DOWN THE REBELLION AT THE SOUTH, OR DESTROY FREE INSTITUTIONS AT THE NORTH."